

*An Inscription of the time of Kapilēndra Dēva of Orissa, from Gōpīnāthapura, District Cuttack. (With an Appendix on the last Hindu Kings of Orissa.)—By BABU MON MOHAN CHAKRAVARTI, M.A., B.L., M.R.A.S.*

[Read April, 1899.]

This inscription comes from the village Gōpīnāthapura in District Cuttack, Orissa. The village is 13 miles N. E. of the town Kaṭaka, and stands on the Birūpā branch of the river Mahānadi. Its position would be about 20° 31' Lat. and 86° 4' long. The inscription is on a stone slab attached to the eastern gate of a middle sized temple of Jagannātha. It commemorates the erection of that temple and of the companion temple of Guṇḍicā, where the cars used to be driven to at the time of the great Ratha festival. Both the temples now lie dilapidated, and the car-festival is no longer held.

The stone slab containing the inscription is about 3'3" × 2'6" × 6". I edit the inscription from two inked estampages not very well done. The inscription is peculiar at least in one respect. The language is Sanskrit, but the characters are Oṛiyā. As yet this appears to be the earliest known inscription of such a kind.

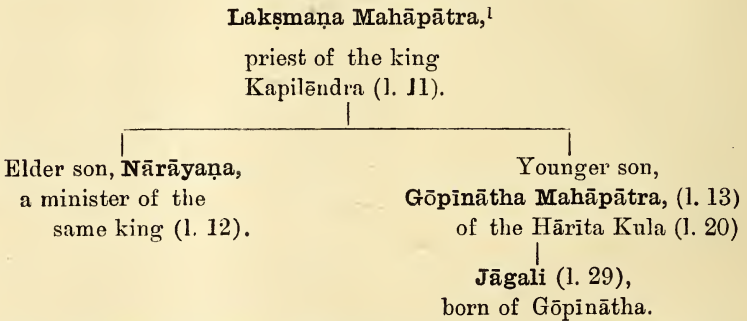
To begin with, the characters generally resemble the modern Oṛiyā letters. Small differences are observable in ca, ja, ḍa, ta, dha, bha, ra, la, ha, and ya, the differences being mainly in the terminal loop. The letter ṭa is still in Kuṭila type. The vowel marks do not differ. The conjunct consonants often differ, in several instances approaching the modern Bengali conjuncts, such as those of ṅ (in ṅka, ṅga), those of y (in sya, dya), those of v (in dhva). The letters are fairly legible, except in the middle and in some of the lower lines. They vary in size, those in the first line being 1" ×  $\frac{1}{2}$ ", in the last line  $1\frac{1}{3}$ " ×  $\frac{3}{4}$ ", and elsewhere varying from  $\frac{1}{2}$ " ×  $\frac{1}{2}$ " to  $\frac{3}{4}$ " ×  $\frac{3}{4}$ ". The lines do not run straight, but in a slipshodly curved way.

The orthography presents no great peculiarity. The *halanta* is generally conjuncted with the initial consonant of the next word (cf. ls. 6, 9 and 11); the guttural ṅ is sometimes represented by *anusvāra*

(*saṅga*, *raṅga* l. 8, *bhaṅgī* l. 20), and sometimes by ण (*niḥṣaṅkaḥ*, *paṅka*, l. 4); the palatal ñ is represented always by anusvāra (*cañcala* l. 1, *Kāñcīhara* l. 17); the dental n is sometimes represented by anusvāra (*vañdīnāñ* l. 10); the avagraha is sometimes omitted *kālē*(<sup>ˆ</sup>)*rpitā* l. 6, *prasannō*(<sup>ˆ</sup>)*stu* l. 30.

The inscription takes up thirty lines. The language is of the later inflated style. Excepting the invocation and a short passage in line 29, it is entirely in verse, 27 stanzas of various metres. It was composed by Jāgali Kavi, and was inscribed by one Vakākhyā. Many verses show elegance and rhetorical skill.

According to the inscription, the temple of Jaganātha at Gōpīnāthapura was built under the orders of Gōpīnātha Mahāpātra, the minister of the king Kapilēndra *alias* Kapilēṣvara Dēva of Orissa. The inscription mentions Gōpīnātha's genealogy as follows :—



The inscription mentions **Kapilēndra** also as **Kapilēṣvara** (l. 17), and describes him as belonging to the solar line (l. 5) with the title **Bhramaravara** (l. 7). **Kapilēndra** is said to have defeated and caused terror in the hearts of the kings of **Karṇāṭa**, **Kalavaraga**, **Mālava**, **Gauḍa** and **Dhillī** (l. 7, *cf.* also lines 16 to 19). **Gōpīnātha** is described as having assisted his master materially in the various conquests and to have led an invasion into **Mālavēndra's** territory, crossing many hills (l. 19).

The inscription is undated, but its time can be approximately ascertained. **Gōpīnātha's** father and elder brother having previously served the same King, **Gōpīnātha** must have taken service in the latter part of the king's reign. Then again the inroad to **Mālava** in line 19, verse 16, is apparently identifiable with the invasion of the Orissa

<sup>1</sup> Lakṣmaṇa Mahāpātra, the donor's father is mentioned in another Oṛiyā inscription as the "*purōhita*" or priest of Kapilēṣvara Dēva; *cf.* my article, Journ. As. Soc. Beng., Vol. LXII, 1893, pp. 91-2.

king into Bidar. This invasion is timed by Ferishta as 1461 A.D.<sup>1</sup> After that some time must have elapsed before the new temple was erected. Hence the date of the inscription might approximately be put at 1465 A.D.

The temple contains the images of Jagannātha, Balarāma and Bhagavati Subhadrā (l. 22, v. 19). It was endowed with gardens, dancing girls, ornaments and servants, &c., (l. 24, v. 21). A Guṇḍicā temple was also built in accompaniment (l. 26, v. 23).

TEXT.<sup>2</sup>

1. 1. **Ōm namaḥ Ḍri-Puruṣōttamāya** ||  
Maulau cam(ñ)cala-cūlini tilakini bhālē mukhē hāsini kaṅṭhē  
mauktika-mālini malayajaiḥ praty-aṅgam = ālēpini | hastā-  
v(b)jē navanītini caraṇayōḥ krī—
1. 2. -dā-rasān = narttini jiyāc = chaṭava-ḥobhini cid-amalā Gōpāṅgan-  
āliṅgini || [1]  
Samsār-ārṇava-karṇa-dhāram = api tam bhakt-ārtha-samsāri-  
nām vandē Ḍri-Puruṣōttamam tanu-bhṛtām saṅkalpa-kalpa-  
drumam | vēdānt-ārtham = udāhara—
1. 3. -nti khalu yaṁ yēn = ākhilam bhāsātē hr̥ṣṭē yatra hr̥ṇiyatē padam  
= api svāyambhuvaṁ dēhinām || [2]  
Sadyaḥ pīyūṣa-pātō manasi nayanayōḥ kāma-cintā durantā  
ḡantā kaṣṭam vinaṣṭam janir = ajani satī lav(b)dha—
1. 4. -m = iṣṭam yathēṣṭam | pāpā-kūpāra-pāram gatam = api pitarō  
dhvasta-v(b)andh-ānuv(b)andhā (yēnā) = lōki trilōkī-nilaya-  
maṇir = ayam nila-ḡail-āvatamsaḥ || [3]  
Niḥḡaṅkaḥ paṅka-magn-ākhila-dharaṇi-ta—
1. 5. -l-ōddhāra-bhū-dāra-simhaḥ svacchandaṁ **Mlēccha-vṛndaṁ** prati  
jagati Kalēr = ādya-bhāḡē = pi Kalki | **bhāsvad-vaṁḡ-āvat-**  
**amsas** = tri-jagad-adhipater = nila-ḡail-ādhināthasy = ādēḡād =  
**Ōdra-dēḡē** samaja—
1. 6. -ni **Kapilēndr-ābhidhānō** narēndraḥ || [4]  
Sadā-tulita-yat-tulā-puruṣa-dāna-kālē = rpitān = trilōka-vijayā-  
rjitān = kanaka-parvatān = sarvataḥ | viuidram = animēṣ aṇam  
diviṣadaḡ = ciram rakṣitum mila—
1. 7. -nti kauak-ācalē vijayinō = sya dāna-bhramāt || [5]  
**Karṇāt-ōjjhāsa-simhaḥ Kalavaraga-jayi Mālava-dhvamsalilā-**  
**jaṁghālō Gauḡa-mardi Bhramaravara-nṛpō** dhvasta-**Ḍhill ī-**  
**ndra-garvaḥ** | samgrāmē dra—

<sup>1</sup> Elphinstone's History of India, Ed. 1874, Appendix, p. 755.

<sup>2</sup> From two ink impressions.

1. 8. -ṣṭum = ēnaṁ pratibhaṭa-subhaṭāḥ kēvalan = tē valantē yēṣān  
 syān = nāka-nāri-kuca-kalaṣa-taṭi-kuṅkum-āṅk-[ ā ]mga-ram-  
 gaḥ || [6]  
 Yasy = ōccair = vāji-rāji-vikaṭa-khurapuṭ-ōdghāṭita-kṣauṇi-  
 prṣṭha-prādurbhūta-prabhūta—
1. 9. -kṣiti-kaṣa-nikarair = lakṣyamāṇē prayānē | garjad-gambhira-  
 bhēri-bhara-rava-vibhav-ākarni-karṇā vivarnā murcālāḥ  
 kṣauṇi-pālāḥ sapadi samabhavan = kānan-āntē = py = anantē || [7]  
 Caṇḍē kō—
1. 10. -daṇḍa-duṇḍē sakṛd = api samarē yasya sāmsakta-kāṇḍē sam-  
 varttē sampravṛttē gataṇḍaṭi vilayam vairi-jālē karālē | vaṁ(n)-  
 dinām krandinīnām nayana-ghana-ghan-ā(ō)tsādyamānair =  
 amānair = durvārair = vāri-vāraiḥ pratipada-muditō
1. 11. -bhinna-mudraḥ samudraḥ || [8]  
 Tasy = āpta-hamsaḥ sa hi hamsa-vaṁṣa-kētōḥ purōdhā ma-  
 khakṛd-vataṁsaḥ | vidvān = **Mahāpātra**-kul-āvataṁsaḥ **Ḷri-**  
**Lakṣmaṇō** = bhūt = prathita-praṣaṁsaḥ || [9]  
 Mantri-ṣrēṇi-ṣirōmaṇi (ṇi)ḥ sa(su)manasaḥ santāna-cintā—
1. 12. -maṇiḥ pāpa-vrāja-viṣ-augha-gāruḍa-maṇiḥ sad-vṛtta-rakṣā-  
 maṇiḥ | padm-ōllāsa-vilāsa-vāsara-maṇiḥ putrō s sya **Nārā-**  
**yaṇaḥ** satr-ārambha-parāyaṇō s jani jana-trāṇāya Nārāyaṇaḥ ||  
 || [10]  
 Yasy = āsid = anu—
1. 13. -jō mataḥ kṣiti-bhujām **Ḷri-Gōpīnāthō Mahāpātraḥ** pātra-jan-  
 ārecaṇa-aika-rasikaḥ pātram guṇānām mahat | ṣri-kāntas =  
 tanayam kṛtāntam = arayaṣ = cintāmaṇim mārgaṇā rājānaḥ  
 sura-mantriṇam vidur = amum kā—
1. 14. -ntāṣ-ca kāntam ratēḥ || [11]  
 Rājēndrād = adhigamya ṣōḍaṣa vara-cchalatrāṇi citrāṇy = asau  
 durgēṣu prayatēṣu ṣōḍaṣa mitēṣv = āsid = aram nāyakaḥ |  
 va(ba)n-dikṛtya raṇēṣu ṣōḍaṣa nṛpāndrō(mṣ = c = o?) pāharat =  
 svāminē
1. 15. varṣē gacchati ṣōḍaṣē svayam = abhūn = mantr-īndra ēkaḥ  
 punaḥ || [12]  
 Manyē pūrvam = apūrvva-kīrttir = asakṛvid-dvij-āhavē pārhivān  
 = kāruṇy-ākālitā(tō) nutā(n\*) pa(pra)ti-bha(bhu)vō(vām)dēvo  
 s bhūd = Bhārgavaḥ | v(b)andī-kṛtya narē—
1. 16. -ndra-maṇḍalam = ayam yad(yō) = Ga(Gō) pinātha-cchalāt = sadyaḥ  
 samprati muṁ(ṇ)cat = iha vitaran svām svām pratiṣṭhām  
 punaḥ || [13]  
 Kṛtvā samyati **Mālav-ēndra**-jayinam sēn-ādhinātham tu yam  
**Gauḍ-ēndrasya** nitāntam = **Utkala**-patha-prasthāna-rōdh-ā—

1. 17. -rgalam | **Çri-Khaṇḍ-ādri-payō-dhar-ōpari-karam** nirmāya **Kām-(Ñ)cī-harah** sānandaṁ **Kapilēçvarō** viharatē **Karṇāṭa-rāja-çriyā** || [14]  
Cētō-vṛttir = iv = ātmanaḥ suvimalā lōkē = dhikā kirttidā sthir-  
āçaya-rīti-vad = guṇa-ma—
1. 18. -ṇi-çrēṇi = va vistāriṇi | sam(sa)nmārg-ānugatā ca santatir = iva  
prāyēṇa santāpinām santāp-ōnmathanā kṛpāvad = amunā khātā  
ca khāt-āvali || [15]  
Garv-aughaṁ **Gurjarēndraḥ** pariharati-tarām = āçu **Ḍhilli-Narēndraḥ** sāndrām ta—
1. 19. -ndrām = avindat = kuṇapa-gatim = agād = **Gauḍa-bhūmī-mah-ēndraḥ** | bhū-bhṛn-mālām karālām pathi pathi militām ram-  
(ha\*)s = ōllanghya sēnā-nāthē **Çri-Gōpināthē** paribhara(va)ti  
ca tām **Mālav-ēndrasya** gu (?) tām (?) || [16]  
Prāsāda—
1. 20. -m = ētam nayan-ābhirāmaṁ vyadhatta **Hārītakul-āv(b)dhi-candraḥ** | asāra-samsāra-gabhīra - paṅka-niḥçaṅka-niḥkrānty-  
avalamv(b)a-daṇḍam || [17]  
Jiyāt-prāsāda-cūḍā-maṇi-rama-ramaṇēḥ prānta-samsakta-bham-  
(ṅ)gī bham(ṅ)ga-prāgbhāra-vi(bi)mv(b)a-sphuṭa—
1. 21. -ghaṭita-vṛ(br)hat-manthani maṇḍalikaḥ | uttānam nyasta-mūrt-  
tiḥ prathita-sad-amṛta-prāptik-ārthō bhav-āv(b)dhērugrajō (?) -  
daṁ(ñ)cad-ūrmī pracaya-bhaya-bhuvō = mantha-manthāna-  
daṇḍah || [18]  
Rāmam **Çri-Puruṣōttamaṁ** Bhagavatim = asmin = Su—
1. 22. -bhadram tathā ratn-ālam(ṅ)kṛti-rāji-rājita-tanuṁ bhaktyā  
=yam = asthāpayat | bhāty = ēśām tritayam navam tri-jagati-  
cintāmaṇinām trayam prāsā (dē\*) ca samudgakē vinihitam kim  
madhyamē piṣṭapē || [19]  
Sauvarṇa-çruti-pāṇi-pā—
1. 23. -da-hṛdayō haima-prabhā-maṇḍalē bhāsvan-maṇḍala-saṁnibhē  
maṇi-lasat-tulā-sarōj-āsanaḥ | sō ṣ yam hāra-kirīṭa-kuṇḍala-  
dharah saṁskāra-dhāri sadā dhyēyā(yah) svarṇa-may-ākṛtim  
pathi dṛṣōr = nirmāti Nārāyaṇah || [20]  
Udyānā—
1. 24. -ni navāni mālya-vidhayē kartum tri-kāl-ārccanam bhōgān  
svarga-purōcitāu = upacitāu rāmāç = ca Rambh-ōpamāḥ | nānā-  
ratna-vibhuṣaṇāni bahuçō vāsāmsi bhūyāmsy = asau prāyacchat  
-paramēṣṭhinē parijanō da (?)
1. 25. -ttōna kim svāminē || [21]  
Pakṣatvam tvayi yāty-ayam dvija-patiḥ pakṣ-ōnnataç = c = ābhav-  
vat Kām-ārē ṣ sya samasta-vāsanam-abhūt = khyātō ha mē ca

dr̥ṣaḥ | Dr̥ṣṭē ṣ sminn = adhip-ādihikāra-yugalē kāmē gatiḥ sam-  
prati = ty = ākhyāt = taṁ Garuḍaḥ

1. 26. kṛt-ām(ñ)jalir = asau papha (?) purō vartatē || [22]  
Yēn = ākāri prasāri-dyuti-rajata-çatām **Guṇḍic-āgāram** = Īçō  
yasmin = Kailāsa-vāsa-praṇayam = adhigatō = hanta dēçē ṣ py =  
amuṣmin | yasya prāgbhāra-khaṇḍa-sthala-vikalā-nabhō—
1. 27. -maṇḍal-ājasra-liṇḍau-mārttā(ta)ṇḍā(ṇḍa)ç = ca pracanḍa-çrama-  
çamana-paṭur = mmaṇḍapē ṣ bhūd = akhaṇḍaḥ || [23]  
Svādhyāy-ābhyaśa-ghōṣair = mukharita-gaganē yajña-yūp-āvali-  
bhir = bhūyaḥ samçobhamānē dvija-vara-gahanē çobhanē çāsanē  
ṣ smi—
1. 28. -n | āvairam ca prapam(ñ)cam Naraka-ripur = ayam Kāmapālah  
Subhadrā grām-ēçasy = āparēṣām = api bhavatu sadā maṅgalā  
gō-jalāya || [24]  
Prahād-Öddhava-Pārthānām bhaktānām viraha-vyathām |  
tyājito Gōpināthēna puṇḍarika-vilōcanaḥ || [25]
1. 29. Mimānsakasya nigam-ānta-vicāra-pāra-samcārīṇō ṣ sya kavi-  
paṇḍita-Gōpināthāt | jātasya **Jāgali-kavē** ramaṇ-ōktir = ēṣā  
harṣ-ōnnatim sumanasām sarasām tanōtu || ☉ || [26]  
Çubham = astu || **Vakākhyēna** likhitam |
1. 30. Çri-Gōpināthaḥ prasannō = stu siddhidō bhakta-vatsalah | Guṇa-  
ratn-ākaraḥ çrimān = **Kapilēndra**-hṛdi-sthitaḥ ||

*Abstract of contents.*

The inscription begins with a salutation to God Puruṣōttama. Verses 1 to 3 invoke His blessings. By order of the God enthroned on the blue hill (*i.e.*, Jagannātha), the king named Kapilēndra appeared in the Oḍra kingdom as an ornament of the solar line (v. 4). His constant gifts at the sacred places tempted even the gods to come down (v. 5). The king, surnamed Bhramaravara, conquered Karṇāṭa, Kalavaraga (Kulbargā), Mālava and Gauḍa, and destroyed the pride of the Delhi king (v. 6). His march was indicated by the huge dust raised by the hoofs of his high horses, and the loud sounds of his bugles frightened the other kings and made them fly to forests (v. 7). The arrows of his bow put to death his enemies, the tears of whose imprisoned ladies removed the land-barrier of the sea (v. 8). He had a faithful priest named Lakṣmaṇa Mahāpātra, an ornament of the Mahāpātra Kula (v. 9). Lakṣmaṇa's son was Nārāyaṇa, the head of the ministers (v. 10). Nārāyaṇa's younger brother was Gōpinātha Mahāpātra, who was favoured by the king, and was in possession of the best qualities (v. 11). He got from the king sixteen umbrellas, took sixteen forts, imprisoned in war sixteen

chiefs, and after sixteen years became the chief minister (v. 12). Methinks Paraçurāma in the guise of Gōpinātha conquered anew the circle of kings, but unlike his previous act, replaced each king in his territory (v. 13). Having made him the Commander-in-Chief, him who defeated the Mālava king, and who stood as a bar to the inroad of the Gauḍa king, the monarch Kapilēçvara enjoyed the Çri of Karṇāṭa, levied taxes over the Khaṇḍa hill, and carried the Kāñcī city by force (v. 14). He (Gōpinātha) dug tanks by the side of roads, clear watered, well-known, calm, wide and cool (v. 15). The Commander-in-Chief Gōpinātha having crossed the terrible mountains on the way, and having conquered the Mālava king, the Gurjara king gave up his pride, the Delhi king felt dejected, and the Gauḍa king turned mean like a çavara (v. 16). The moon of the Hārīta line (Gopinātha) erected this fine temple as a staff for deliverance from the mires of this unsubstantial world (v. 17). The temple is the highest with the solar *maṇḍala* as its finials, and serves as a staff for churning nectar (the meaning not clear throughout) (v. 18). In this temple he placed Rāma (Balarāma), Puruṣōttama (Jagannātha), and Bhagavatī Subhadrā, fully ornamented (v. 19). The Nārāyaṇa was made as described in the *dhyāna* (hymn)—then follows a description of his ornaments (v. 20). For garlands new gardens, *bhōgas* fit for heaven, maidens (charming) as Rambhā, many jewelled ornaments, ample dresses, he gave to the deities—what more shall be said about the servants given? (v. 21). “Oh Lord! May this Garuḍa be your steed.” On his (Gōpinātha’s) saying this as if Garuḍa himself stood in front with hands clasped and wings spread (meaning throughout not clear) (v. 22). By him was raised a Guṇḍicā temple, bright and silver white, where Mahādēva felt the delights of Kailāça mountain, and on whose cloud-dividing top the sun rested (v. 23). In this Çāsana resounding with Vedic teachings, decked with numerous sacrificial posts and crowded with high class Brahmins, may Jagannātha, Balarāma and Subhadrā bring good to the village lord, the residents, (the village) cattle and (its) water! (v. 24). By consecrating this Viṣṇu, Gōpinātha removed pangs of separation from the hearts of devotees like Prahlāda, Uddhava and Pārtha (*i.e.*, Arjuna) (v. 25). May these charming verses of the Mīmāṃsaka Vaidāntika poet Jāgali, born of the poet and the learned Gōpinātha, increase the delight of the wise! (v. 25). May it be good! Written by Vakākhyā. May Gōpinātha (*i.e.*, Viṣṇu) beloved of Lakṣmī, meditated by the King Kapilendra, fond of his devotees, fulfiller of desires, and like sea in qualities, may He be gracious (unto us)! (v. 27).

## APPENDIX.

## THE LAST HINDU KINGS OF ORISSA.

In the Gōpināthapura Inscription the King Kapilēndra Dēva is described as of the Solar line “bhāsvad-vaṃṣ-āvatamṣa(h\*).” Very little authentic is known about these kings of Orissa. The time has now come to throw light into this dark chapter, and to give some account of them based on inscriptions supplemented at places by the Mādala Pāñji and other records.

## A. SŪRYA VAṂṢA DYNASTY.

(5 KINGS).

I. KAPILĒNDRA *alias* KAPILĒṢVARA DĒVA, BHRAMARAVARA.

(1434-35 A.D.—1469-70 A.D.)

Up to date the undermentioned authentic dates of this King—the founder of the Solar line—have been found<sup>1</sup> :—

No.	Dates.	References.
(O.)	1. 4th Aṅka, Dhannu New moon, Sunday = 9th December, 1436 A.D.	Left side Inscription No. 3 of the Jagannātha temple [J.A.S.B., Vol. LXII, 1893, pp. 92-3].
(O.)	2. 4th Aṅka, Kumbha (?) Çukla 13, Monday = 18th February, 1437 A.D.	The temple of Mukhaliṅgēṣvara at Mukhaliṅgam, District Gañjām [Dr. Hultzsch's Epigraphical Report for 1895-6, No. 141, p. 14]. I am indebted to Dr. Hultzsch for an ink impression of this old Oṛiyā inscription.
(O.)	3. 4th Aṅka, Mithuna Saṅkrānti Kṛṣṇa 1, Tuesday = 29th May, 1437 A.D.	Right side Inscription No. 2 of the Bhuvanēṣvara temple [J.A.S.B., Vol. LXII, pp. 103-4].
(O.)	4. 19th Aṅka, Tulā Kṛṣṇa 2, Sunday = 2nd November, 1449 A.D.	Right side Inscription No. 1 of the Bhuvanēṣvara temple [J.A.S.B., Vol. LXII, p. 10-3]. N.B.—The <i>purnimānta</i> scheme has been used here, instead of the usual <i>amānta</i> scheme.
(O.)	5. 19th Aṅka, Mēṣa New moon, Sunday = 12th April, 1450 A.D.	Right side Inscription No. 2 of the Jagannātha temple [J.A.S.B., Vol. LXII, 1893, p. 99].
(S. & T.)	6. Çaka 1373, Māgha Çukla 5, Thursday, Jovian year Prajāpati = 27th January, 1452 A.D.	The Çri-Kūrmāṇ temple (near Çikākōḷa), 20th pillar, east and north face inscription [Dr. Hultzsch's Epigraphical Report for 1895-6, p. 20, Nos. 317 and 318; and my Ms. transcript].

<sup>1</sup> O. Signifies Oṛiyā in language, S. Sanskrit, and T. Telugu.



No.	Dates.	References.
7.	25th Aṅka, Çaka 1377, Bhā-	The Çrī-Kūrmañ temple, 18th pillar, west
(T.)	drapada] Çakla 3, Saturday	face inscription [Dr. Hultzsch's Ep. Rep.,
	=26th August, 1455 A.D.	1895-6, p. 20, No. 313; and my Ms.].
8.	Çaka 1377, Bhādrapada moon-	Copper-plate inscription of the king Gāna-
(S.)	=August (?), 1455 A.D.	Dēva of Kōṇḍa-vidu [Dr. Hultzsch, Ind.
9.	1461 A.D.	Ant., Vol. XX, p. 391].
		... Ferishta, l. c. Elphinstone's History of India,
		Appendix, p. 755; and Sewell's sketch of
		the dynasties of Southern India, p. 23.
10.	32nd (33rd) Aṅka, Çaka 1382,	The Çrī-Kurmañ temple, 18th pillar, west
(T.)	Jyēṣṭha Va 5 (p 7), Monday,	face inscription [Dr. Hultzsch's Ep. Rep.,
	the year Vikrama=12th May,	1895-6, p. 19, No. 284; and my Ms.].
	1461 A.D.	
11.	35th (37th) Aṅka, Mēṣa Kṛṣṇa 4,	Left side Inscription No. 5 of the Jagan-
(O.)	Wednesday = 25th April, 1464	nātha temple [J.A.S.B., Vol. LXII, pp.
	A.D.	95-6].
12.	Circa 1465 A.D.	... The present inscription of the Gōpīnātha-
(S.)		para temple.
13.	41st Aṅka, Dhanu Çakla 7, Left side	Inscription No. 4 of the Jagan-
(O.)	Sunday = 14th December,	nātha temple [J.A.S.B., Vol. LXII, pp.
	1466 A.D.	93-4].

From the Aṅka inscriptions, Kapilēçvara's accession year can be ascertained as follows:—

4th Aṅka or 3rd year	= 1436-7 A.D.
19th Aṅka or 16th year	= 1449-50 A.D.
25th Aṅka or 21st year	= 1454-5 A.D.
33rd Aṅka or 27th year	= 1460-61 A.D.
37th Aṅka or 30th year	= 1463-4 A.D.
41st Aṅka or 33rd year	= 1466-7 A.D.
* * The 2nd Aṅka or 1st year	= 1434-5 A.D.

According to Aṅka calculations, the last Aṅka of Kapilēçvara and the second Aṅka of his successor Puruṣōttama should fall in the same year. Hence Kapilēçvara's death took place in 1469-70 A.D.<sup>1</sup>

Narasimha Dēva IV. of the Gaṅga dynasty was reigning in 1397 A.D. [J.A.S.B., Vol. LXIV, 1895, p. 133]. The thirty-seven years intervening between this date and the accession of Kapilēçvara Dēva in 1434-5

<sup>1</sup> According to the Mādaḷā Pāñji or the Chronicles of the temple of Jagan-nātha, the king ascended the throne at Camp Kṛttivāsa (Bhuvanēçvara) on Wednesday, Kakaṛā 2, Çu 4; and died on the banks of the Kṛṣṇa-Vēnyā river (the Kṛṣṇā) on Pauṣa Kṛ. 3, Tuesday. Neither of the dates comes out correct with the week day mentioned.

A.D. are at present epigraphically blank<sup>1</sup>. If the Mādaḷā Pāñji is to be believed, Kapilēçvara succeeded a Bhānu Dēva, whose name (surname?) was, according to one version, Akatā-Abatā, and according to another, Matta (drunk). Among the later Gaᅅgas, the usual succession was a Narasiḃha Dēva followed by a Bhānu Dēva and so on. The thirty-seven years intervening will allow either of only one Bhānu Dēva after Narasiḃha Dēva IV, or of one Bhānu Dēva followed by a Narasiḃha Dēva, and then a second Bhānu Dēva. Looking to the rather short period, and the average long reigns of the Eastern Gaᅅga Kings, the first supposition of only one Bhānu Dēva appears more probable.

The accounts given in the Mādaḷā Pāñji show that Kapilēçvara got to the throne probably with the aid of the Bahmanī king (Aḃmad Shāh I.). The present inscription gives him an *alias*, Kapilēndra, and a title Bhramaravara. Gānadēva's Copper-plate inscription speaks of his capital being at Kaᅇaka on the bank of the river Mahānadī. He was evidently a powerful King, and extended his dominion from the bank of the Ganges on the north to that of the Kᅇᅇᅇᅇᅇᅇ on the south. His whole reign was spent in warring with the Hindu Kings of Vijayanagara, or with the Mahomedan Kings of the Bahmanī dynasty, or in suppressing internal revolts. The Mādaḷā Pāñji mentions that he had numerous sons, among whom Puruᅇᅇᅇᅇᅇᅇ Dēva was one, but not the eldest.

## II. PURUᅇᅇᅇᅇᅇᅇ DĒVA.

(1469-70 A.D.—1496-97 A.D.)

The following give all the reliable dates as yet known of this king:—

No.	Dates.	References.
(O.)	1. 2nd Aᅇka, Mēᅇa Çu 12, Thurs- day = 12th April, 1470 A.D.	Left side No. 2 } Inscriptions of the Right side No. 1 } Jagannātha temple [J.A.S.B., Vol. LXII, 1893, pp. 91-2, 98.]
(T.)	2. 3rd Aᅇka, Çāka 1392, Aᅇvija Çuddha pratipad, Tuesday = 25th September, 1470 A.D.	The Çᅇi-Kūrmaᅇᅇ temple, 49th pillar, north face [Dr. Hultzsch's Epigraphical Report for 1895-6, No. 365, p. 23].
(O.)	3. 3rd Aᅇka Mārgaᅇira Kᅇ. 13, Left side Tuesday = 28th November, 1470 A.D.	Inscription No. 1 of the Jagan- nātha temple [J.A.S.B., Vol. LXII, pp. 90-1].
(T.)	4. Çāka 1393, year Khara, Caitra Va (? Çu), Ādivāra (Sunday) = 31st March, 1471 A.D.	The Çᅇi-Kūrmaᅇᅇ temple, 49th pillar, west and south faces [Dr. Hultzsch's Ep. Rep., 1895-6, No. 366, p. 23]. (if Va be Çu).

<sup>1</sup> There is an inscription of probably this King in the Çᅇi-Kūrmaᅇᅇ temple (11th pillar, east face) which purports to be dated in 1324 Çāka or 1402-3 A.D. (No. 299, Dr. Hultzsch's Ep. Rep. 1895-6, p. 20). But I have not got the week day and the correct figures yet. Hence it is not taken into consideration.

No.	Dates.	References.
5.	1471 A.D.	Ferishta, l.c., Elphinstone's Hist. of Ind. (1889 ed.), Appendix p. 756; and Sewell's sketch of S. Indian dynasties, p. 23.
6. (T.)	7th (4th) Aṅka, Çaka 1393, Āsārha Çu 2, Thursday, the Jovian year Khara = 20th June, 1472 A.D.	The Çri-Kūrmaṁ temple, 2nd pillar, north and west face [Dr. Hultzsch's Ep. Rep., 1895-6, p. 19, No. 274; and my Ms.].
6. 7.	1477 A.D.	Ferishta, l.c. Elphin., App. p. 756; and Sewells' sketch, p. 23.
8. (O.)	15th (17th) Aṅka, Mēṣa, Di 10 (11), new moon, Monday, solar eclipse = 7th April, 1483 A.D.	My reading of the Oriyā Copper-plate grant to the Balasore Bhuñyās [Ind. Ant., Vol. I, p. 355]. The original reading seems to have been wrong, but Prof. Kielhorn has arrived at the correct English equivalent in Ind. Ant., Vol. XXII, p. 108.
9. (O.)	19th Aṅka, Siṁha Çu 8, Thursday = 18th April, 1485 A.D.	Right side Inscription No. 4 of the Jagannātha temple [J.A.S.B., Vol. LXII, 1893, p. 100-1].
10. (T.)	Çaka 1411, the Jovian year Kilaka = 1488-89 A.D.	A Koṇḍa-Viḍu Inscription [Sewell's sketch south, dyn., p. 48]. The Çaka year <i>current</i> was apparently used.
11. (O.)	25th Aṅka, Viṣā (Vṛṣa) Saṅ-krānti, Çu 8, Thursday = 27th May, 1490 A.D.	Çri-Kūrmaṁ temple, 1st pillar (of Nos. 272 and 273), not reported in Ep. Rep. for 1895-6. I am indebted to Dr. Hultzsch's for two ink impressions of this inscription.
12. (T.)	Çaka 1417, the Jovian year Rākṣasa, 32nd (? 33rd) Aṅka, Kārttika Çuddha 13, Mandavāra (Saturday) = 31st October, 1495 A.D.	The Çri-Kurmaṁ temple, 41st pillar, north face inscription [Dr. Hultzsch's Ep. Rep., 1895-6, p. 202, No. 347].

With the help of the Aṅka inscriptions the precise year of Puruṣōttama Dēva's accession can be found out. The Aṅka dates are

2nd Aṅka or 1st year	= 1469-70 A.D.
3rd Aṅka or 2nd year	= 1470-71 A.D.
4th Aṅka or 3rd year	= 1471-2 A.D.
17th Aṅka or 14th year	= 1482-3 A.D.
19th Aṅka or 16th year	= 1484-5 A.D.
25th Aṅka or 21st year	= 1489-90 A.D.
32nd Aṅka or 26th year	= 1494-5 A.D.

\* \* \* The 1st year was 1469-70 A.D.

From his successor's Aṅka dates, the time of Puruṣōttama's death can be deduced. It took place in 1496-97 A.D.

On the death of Kapilēçvara Dēva, his sons fought with one another for the throne. Ultimately Puruṣōttama secured it with the help of the Bahmani king Muḥammad Shāh II. For this aid, he had to cede to the

Bahmanī king the southern-most districts of Kōṇḍapalli and Rājamaḥēndri. Ferishta calls him “Amber Rai” which is apparently a corruption of the title “Bhramaravara Rāya”—a title still given in Orissa to a prince, not always the eldest one. Later on, the Orissa king appears to have repented of the bargain, and to have attempted a conquest of the ceded districts. This led to an expedition into Orissa in 1477 A.D. by the Bahmanī king Muḥammad, which Ferishta reports as having been successful. Anyhow these districts passed ultimately into the hands of the Orissa king, as the Kōṇḍa-Viḍu inscription of 1488-9 A.D. shows.

The king also waged war with Vidyānagara (or as the Mahomedans put it Vijayanagar). *Caitanya-carit-āmṛta*, the well-known biography of the great Bengal Vaiṣṇavite preacher, Caitanya, says that the King Puruṣōttama Dēva conquered Vidyānagara, and thence brought a jewelled *siṃhāsana* (throne) which he presented to Jagannātha, and also the image of *Sākṣi-gōpāla* which he kept in his capital at Kaṭaka (*Çait. car. āmr.*, Madhya Khaṇḍa, 5th Paricchēda). The first Vidyānagara dynasty was then tottering on its throne, and was shortly after replaced by the second dynasty.

The few details given in the Mādaḷā Pāñji are mainly taken up in describing an expedition of this King into Kāñci. If there be any truth in it, then it is likely connected with the raid of the Bahmanī king Muḥammad Shāh II, who in 1477-8 A.D. made a dash towards Conjeeveram, and returned with an immense booty. Puruṣōttama Dēva might have joined the said king as an ally.

According to the Mādaḷā Pāñji this king erected the Bhōga-maṇḍapa (refectory hall) of Jagannātha temple in his 7th Aṅka (1473-4 A.D.); and in his 9th Aṅka (1475-6 A.D.) he built the inner wall and the cooking rooms of that temple.

### III. PRATĀPA RUDRA DĒVA.

(1496-97—?1539-40 A.D.)

The following dates of this King are known as yet:—

No.	Dates.	References.
1. (O.)	4th Aṅka, Kakṛā Çu 10, Wednesday = 17th July, 1499 A.D.	Left side Inscription No. 6 of the Jagannātha temple [J.A.S.B., Vol. LXII, 1893, pp. 96-7].
2. (O.)	5th Aṅka, Dhanu 3 (?) Kr. (?), Monday = ? December, 1500 A.D.	Left side Inscription No. 7 of the Jagannātha temple [J.A.S.B., Vol. LXII, 1893, p. 97].
3. (T.)	Çaka 1425, the Jovian year Rudhirōdgārīn, Kārttika Çuddha Purṇamī, Friday = 1503 A.D., (?) 3rd November.	The Çri-Kūrmaṅ temple, 41st pillar, north face [Dr. Hultzsch's Ep. Rep., 1895-6, p. 22, No. 346].

No.	Dates.	References.
4.	1509–10 A.D. (17th Aṅka of the Mādaḷā Pāñji).	Mahomedan historians, i.e. Hunter's History of Orissa, Vol. II, pp. 9–10, and App. VIII, p. 193.
5.	1510 A.D. (February and March).	<i>Caitanya-carit-āmrta</i> , beginning of the 7th paricchēda, Madhyama Khaṇḍa; <i>Caitanya-maṅgala</i> , Antya Khaṇḍa, 2nd and 3rd Adhyāya.
6.	1511 A.D., Ratha festival.	<i>Cait.-car.-āmr.</i> , Madhya Khaṇḍa, 14th paricchēda; cf. <i>Cait. maṅ.</i> , Antya Khaṇḍa, 5th Adhyāya.
7.	Çaka 1436 = 1514–5 A.D.	Two Inscriptions at Udayagiri [Sewell's sketch of the southern dynasties, p. 48, note 4].
8.	1515–6 A.D.	An Inscription in the Varadarāja-svāmī temple at Conjeveram [Chingleput District Manual, pp. 435–6, i.e., Sewell's sketch south. dyn., p. 119 and p. 48 note 4].
9.	? 1519–20 A.D.	<i>Cait.-car.-āmr.</i> , Antya Khaṇḍa, 9th paricchēda.
10.	1522 A.D. (32nd Aṅka of Mādaḷā Pāñji)	Ferishta, i.e., Elphinstone's Hist. Ind., App., p. 760; Hunter's Hist. Orissa, Vol. II, App. VIII, p. 193.

Pratāpa Rudra's accession year falls in 1496–97, as calculated from his only reliable Aṅka date in the Jagannātha temple. The time of his death is uncertain. According to Mādaḷā Pāñji he was succeeded first by his son Kālu-ā Dēva who reigned for a year and five months, and then by another of his sons Kakhāru-ā Dēva who ruled for only three months. They were killed, one after the other, by their minister Gōvinda Vidyādhara. The latter then usurped the throne, and founded the small dynasty known as the *Bhoi*. One inscription of Gōvinda Dēva is known in the temple of Jagannātha. It is dated 4th Aṅka, Bichā Çukla Tr̥tiyā, Tuesday, or 30th October, 1543 A.D. [J.A.S.B., Vol. LXII, 1893, pp. 101–2]. From this it is deducible that Gōvinda Dēva began to reign in 1541–42 A.D. So that if the Mādaḷā Pāñji's dates as regards Kakhāru-ā and Kālu-ā Dēvas be accepted, Pratāpa Rudra's last year would fall in 1539–40 A.D. According to a tradition noticed in the *Jagannātha-carit-āmrta*, an Oṛiyā biography of Jagannātha Dāsa—a disciple of Caitanya and the founder of the Atibaṛa subsect of Vaiṣṇavas in Orissa—Pratāpa Rudra survived Caitanya. The latter died, according to his biographies, in 1455 Çaka or 1533–4 A.D. So then Pratāpa Rudra might have been reigning at least in 1535 A.D., and there is nothing improbable in his reigning up to 1539–40 A.D.

It was a stirring time. In the north in Bengal, Ḥusain Shāh had been consolidating his kingdom; in the south the Vidyānagara monarchy

was rising again under Narasa of the 2nd dynasty; and a few years later Quṭb Shāh, general of the Bahmanī king, founded the kingdom of Gōlkōṇḍā. Pratāpa Rudra, after he had been on the throne for about 5 or 6 years, became engaged in a war with Narasa. Mādaḷā Pāñji says that he conquered the king; but two Vidyānagara copper-plates, one of Acyuta Rāya and the other of Sadāgīva Rāya, speak of Narasa conquering the Gajapati ruler.<sup>1</sup> In 1509 A.D. Ismāil Ghāzī (named Surasthāna in M. Pāñji), a general of the Bengal Nawab, made a dash into Orissa, ravaged the country, sacked Puri town and destroyed a number of Hindu temples. Pratāpa Rudra hurried from the south, and the Mahomedan general retreated. He was closely pursued and defeated on the bank of the Ganges (M. Pāñji). The general took refuge in Fort Māudāran (Subdivision Jehanabad, District Hooghly), and was besieged. But one of the Rāja's high officers, Gōvinda Vidyādharma, went over to the enemy's side; and so the Rājā had to raise the siege and to retire to Orissa. This war and the destruction of the Hindu images have been mentioned in several places in the *Caitanya-maṅgala alias Bhāgavata*, one of the earliest biographies of Caitanya the Bengal preacher (composed *circa* 1550-60 A.D.).<sup>2</sup>

It was also a period of considerable religious ferment. Vallabhācārya had begun his religious preachings in the north; and Caitanya began his religious wanderings in Bengal, Orissa and elsewhere. In February 1510 A.D., Caitanya came to Puri and stopped for two months. At that time Pratāpa Rudra had gone to the south, and was fighting with Kṛṣṇa Rāya who had just then come to the throne of Vidyānagara. Wandering in the south after a year Caitanya came back to Puri. There at the time of the Ratha festival the king and the preacher met; and according to the biographies, Pratāpa Rudra was converted and became a devoted disciple.

Several of the king's officers also became Caitanya's disciples, among whom the most prominent was Rāmānanda Rāya, for some time governor of Rājamahēndri. It is related in *Caitanya-carit-āmṛta* (Antya Khaṇḍa, 9th Paricchēda) that Rāmānanda's brother Gōpinātha Barājēnā, who was the revenue officer in charge of Mālījyātha Daṇḍapāṭa (at present the eastern part of Midnapur District) fell in arrears of a large revenue—two lakh Kāhāns of cowries, and was ordered by the king to be put to death. He was however saved and reinstated by the mediation of Caitanya's disciples.

<sup>1</sup> Ep. Ind., Vol. III, p. 152; Ep. Ind., Vol. IV, p. 12, "*Vīry-ōdagraṁ Turuṣkaṁ Gajapati-nṛpatim c = āpi jītvā tad-anyān.*"

<sup>2</sup> *Caitanya-maṅgala alias Bhāgavata*, Antya Khaṇḍa, 2nd Adhyāya, pp. 772, 779-80; 4th Adhyāya, pp. 865, 866.

In another Vaiṣṇavite work, Jayānanda's *Caitanya-maṅgala*, it is said that Pratāpa Rudra consulted Caitanya about invading Bengal. The preacher dissuaded him, pointing out that the war would be disastrous for Orissa [i.e. the Bengali Magazine *Śrī-śrī-Viṣṇupriyā Patrikā*, Kārttik 1897, p. 477].

The latter part of Pratāpa Rudra's reign seems to have been spent chiefly in the south. Kṛṣṇa Rāya, the greatest king of the Vidyānagara second dynasty, invaded the Gajapati territory in 1514-5 A.D., defeated Virabhadra son of Pratāpa Rudra, took prisoner his uncle Tirumalappa Rāya, and conquered all the tract south of the Gōdāvari. The Vidyānagara generals also made incursions northwards up to Ganjam; and finally Pratāpa Rudra had to make a treaty and to give his daughter in marriage to the victorious monarch.

In 1522 A.D. Pratāpa Rudra waged a long and desultory war with Quṭb Shāh of Gōlkōṇḍā. According to the Mādaḷā Pāñji neither side gained any decisive victory; but Ferishta says that the Hindu king was defeated, and lost a part of his territory.

#### IV. KĀLU-Ā DĒVA.

(? 1539-40 A.D. — ? 1541-42 A.D.)

Pratāpa Rudra left several sons, and an ambitious and powerful minister, Gōvinda Vidyādhara. The eldest of the sons succeeded under the title Kālu-ā Dēva. No inscription of this king is known. According to the Mādaḷā Pāñji he ruled for one year, five months and three days. He was murdered by the minister.

#### V. KAKHĀRU-Ā DĒVA.

(? 1541-42 A.D.)

Another son of Pratāpa Rudra succeeded Kālu-ā Dēva under the above title. After a brief and disturbed rule of three months, he, too, was killed by the all-powerful minister. Gōvinda then had the remaining sons of Pratāpa Rudra murdered, and ascended the throne under the title of Gōvinda Dēva. He founded the small *Bhō-i* (writer) dynasty, which with Tēliṅga Mukunda Haricandana ruled up to the final Mahomedan conquest of Orissa in 1568 A.D.

#### B. BHŌ-I DYNASTY.

(4 KINGS):

GŌVINDA DĒVA.

(1541-42 A.D.— ? 1549 A.D.)

Only one inscription of this king is known:—

4th Arjka, Bichā Çukla 3rd, Tuesday= 30th October, 1543 A.D. (Oriyā).		Right side Inscription No. 5 of the Jagannātha temple [J.A.S.B., 1893, pp. 101-2].
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\* \* The first year fell in 1541-42 A.D.

According to one version of the M. Pāñji he ruled seven years; according to another version 11 years and seven months. The shorter period is accepted as being more probable. It is more consistent with the reigning years which follow; and as Gōvinda Vidyādhara was in high service in 1509 A.D., he could not be expected to reign long after 1541 A.D. In his 7th Aṅka (1545-46 A.D.) he is said to have waged war with the king of Gōlkōṇḍā. While encamping in the south, his sister's son Raghu Bhañja Chōṭarāya revolted in Orissa. The king hurried back, defeated the rebels who were being assisted by Bengal Mahomedans, and drove them beyond the Ganges.

## II. CAKĀ PRATĀPA DĒVA.

(? 1549 A.D.—? 1557 A.D.)

This son of Gōvinda Dēva succeeded. According to one version, he ruled eight years; according to another, twelve years and a half. The shorter period has been accepted. He is represented as a bad king, who oppressed the people.

## III. NARASIMHA RĀYA JĒNĀ.

(? 1557 A.D.)

According to Mādaḷā Pāñji he had just ascended the throne of his father, when Mukunda Haricandana rebelled and murdered him. He was on the throne for only one month and sixteen days.

## IV. RAGHURĀMA JĒNĀ.

(? 1557 A.D.—? 1559-60 A.D.)

The brother of the above succeeded. Mukunda Haricandana continued to revolt, defeated and imprisoned the king's chief minister Danē-i Vidyādhara, defeated and imprisoned Raghu Bhañja Chōṭarāya who had invaded again from the Bengal side, and finally murdered the king, after a disturbed rule of one year, seven months and fourteen days.

## C. TĒLIṄĠĀ DYNASTY.

(ONE KING).

MUKUNDA DĒVA, HARICANDANA.

(1559-60 A.D.—1568 A.D.)

The last independent Hindu King of Orissa—

The following may be ascribed to his reign:—

1. A.H. 968=1560 A.D. ... A silver coin of Jalāl Shah, mint Jājpur [Thomas' Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi, p. 417].



2. A.H. 973 = 1564–65 A.D. ... Stewart's History of Bengal, ed. 1847, pp. 95–6; Hunter's History of Orissa, Vol. II, p. 12.
3. A.H. 975 = 1568 A.D. (10th Century) Hunter's Hist. Orissa, Vol. II, page 10. Aṅka of the M. Pāñji). note 29, p. 31; Mr. Beames, J.A.S.B., Vol. LII, p. 233 note.

Mukunda Dēva was a Telugu by birth. He got to the throne by a successful revolt. The silver coin of Jalāl Shāh with the mint mark of Jājpur shows that the Mahomedan king of Bengal assisted in 1560 A.D. Raghu Bhañja Chōṭarāya in his invasion of Orissa, and the coin was struck apparently when on the march to Kaṭaka. Mukunda Dēva however defeated Raghu Bhañja, and imprisoned him. In 1564–65 A.D. the Emperor Akbar sent an ambassador to Orissa, and entered into a treaty with the king. The latter in return sent an ambassador to Delhi. The treaty was intended as a check to the Bengal king Sulaimān Karrarāñi. The latter, however, kept quiet, until he found Akbar fully engaged in wars in the west. He then attacked the Orissa king who had come to the banks of the Ganges. Mukunda Dēva took refuge in Fort Kōṭsamā and defended himself therein. Then the Bengal king detached a part of his force, and sent them round to Orissa through Mayūrabhañja and thence southwards by the Kāṣabāsa river. This force under Illāhābād Kālāpahāra began to ravage Orissa, and defeated the king's deputy; while one of the Oriyā chiefs raised the standard of revolt. Hearing this the Orissa king hurried south, fought with the rebels and was killed. The rebel chief was in turn killed by the Mahomedans. Raghu Bhañja Chōṭarāya who was lying imprisoned, escaped and attempted to take possession of the throne. After four months' fight with Kālāpahāra, he too was slain; and the Mahomedans took final possession of Orissa. This conquest took place in 1568 A.D.